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## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

EX-OFFICIO INFORMATIONS. — In the present Number, I shall more *open* the subject, which it is not my intention to quit, till *all the world*, where the English language is understood, and indeed until all nations, have the means of putting a *just value* upon that thing, which, in England, is called *The Liberty of the Press*. This thing has long been a matter of *boast*; but it never was yet clearly and fully described and made known to the people. Now it shall: and then let the name of it take its chance in the world. And, it is the more necessary to make the exposure at *this time*, because so much is said about the recently-established regulations about the press in *France*, between which and the regulations in England the world ought to be able to judge; and, I cannot help observing here, that those who are the loudest in reproaching the Emperor for his regulations, are amongst the greatest enemies of all *real Liberty* of the Press in England. — Supposing, as I must, that the reader has gone through the whole of the *charge* of Lord Folkestone and the *defence* of SIR VICARY GIBBS, as published in my last Number, it will not be necessary for me to give him, here, any *general account* of that debate, which began at page 805, and filled almost the whole of the remainder of the Number; but, there are certain topics, touched upon in it, which I cannot refrain from noticing, though there were very few of much importance, upon which Lord Folkestone did not enter pretty fully, and to which he did not do ample justice. — What *sort of a thing* an INFORMATION EX-OFFICIO is, I stated very clearly at page 428 of this present Volume. I showed that it was such a power as few people supposed to be in existence in this country; but, I did not there notice the *additional power* given to the Attorney General by an Act passed in the 48th year of this Jubilee Reign, which act authorizes the Attorney General to hold to *bail*, and if bail be not found, to *imprison*, at once, any man against whom he may choose to lay an in-

formation. — See, then, what his powers amount to: he can, by his *sole will*, without the intervention of a Grand Jury, and without a rule moved for in Court; he can pitch upon any man that he chooses, and, without any oath made against such man, by any body, he may put such man upon the list of *criminals* to be tried; and, to trial he may bring him, without any other ceremony than that of sending him a slip of paper, commanding him to appear on such a day to be *dealt* with as the Court shall direct. — This is pretty well for a beginning. But, if he chooses, he may *now*, by the new Act brought in by this present Attorney General, have the man *taken up* like a thief or a highwayman, and make him give bail, or, if he has not bail ready, he may *send him to jail* at once; and this, you will observe, without there being any *oath* made as to the man's having done any thing wrong; all that is required to be *proved*, in order to send such a man to jail, is, that the Attorney General *has laid an Information against him*. — Now, such being the case, it is clear, that the Attorney General has the power of *holding any man in England to bail*, be he who or what he may. He has the power of causing any man to be seized by a Tipstaff and to be kept in custody till he has found bail, and that, too, without being obliged to furnish the party so taken up and held to bail with any copy or statement of the charge against him. — The Attorney General may do this to *any man*. There is no man that is not exposed to the operation of this power. — Well, having accused a man, having laid his Information against him; having sent him a *command to come and be tried*, and having, perhaps, *held him to bail*; having done this, he does not bring him to trial until he chooses. The "*free-born Englishman*," who is thus hooked, must wait till the Attorney General pleases to have him tried. His command to come and be *dealt* with stands good. His bail holds him on. And, if he cannot get bail, there he is in *jail*, as long as the Attorney General pleases; for, the latter may put off the trial for any length of time. — This is quite com-

fortable. This is delightful in the "*most free and most happy country in the world!*"

—The Attorney General may put off the trial, if he likes, during the whole of a man's life time. He may lay his information when the man is single, as Mr. Horne Tooke observed, and he may bring him to trial after he is married and has half a dozen children. He may inform against him while he is following one profession, and may fall on upon him with his trial when he is about to enter, or has entered, upon another.—He may *forgive*, too, of himself, after he has laid the Information, after he has put a man upon the list of *criminals* to be tried, after he has commanded him to come to be *dealt* with, after he has held him to bail, nay, after he has put him *in jail* for want of bail; after all this he may forgive the man, of his own head, without bringing him before the court at all.—Is it necessary to say any more about his powers? Is not this enough? Eh! you *free-born* gentry, is not this plenty for you? If this does not satisfy you, I do not know what will.—Well, suppose he chooses to try the man that he has informed against? What, then? Why, then, the first step he takes, is, to demand a *Special Jury*, that is to say, twelve men, out of *forty-eight* men. **ALL APPOINTED BY THE MASTER OF THE CROWN OFFICE.** The poor man who is to be tried may strike out 12 from the 48, and so may the prosecutor; but, the *whole 48 are appointed by the Master of the Crown Office.*—Well. The Jury, thus appointed, does not appear; or, only part of them come. The Attorney General has the power to put off the trial, to say simply, I do not choose to try you now; and you shall not be tried now because I do not choose it. His will here is absolute. The Judges themselves have no power to force the trial on. Whether his *Special Jury* comes, or not, he can put off the trial. And, on the contrary, if the *Special Jury* do not come, or only a part of them come, he can demand, if he pleases, to have a Jury made up from the Common Jurors.—Then, at the trial, he begins and speaks against the accused, and he has as many more as he pleases, at the *public expence*, to speak on the same side. When that is done, the accused has to speak in his defence. And there, one would think, the thing would end. Oh, no! for, though in all cases between man and man, this is the practice, the Attorney General has the privilege of *another speech*

after the defence is over; and, as Lord Folkestone observed, into *this* speech he may bring whatever *new matter* he pleases. He may, indeed, as his Lordship observed, reserve all the weighty part of his allegations for this speech, and thus leave the defendant without, in reality, any opportunity at all to defend himself.—If the man be found guilty, he may, or may not, be brought up for judgment, just as the Attorney General pleases. The Court cannot do any thing in it. The man may be brought up and sentenced at the next term, or many years afterwards, during all which time, the liability to be brought up for judgment hangs over his head.—If he be brought up, he may speak, or offer affidavits; but, *after* that the Attorney General and his coadjutors claim the right, and exercise it, of **SPEAKING AGAIN**, before the judgment is passed. This they always do; especially in cases of *libel*.

—Suppose the prosecuted man is *acquitted*: then he has *all his costs to pay*; for the Crown pays no costs. The same is the case if the man be *never brought to trial*. Still he has costs, and heavy costs too. He is obliged to *pay* for a copy of the accusation against him. Poor GILBERT WAKEFIELD (whose case we must take care not to forget) had to pay, he states, several pounds in order to get at a *knowledge of what he was accused of*; for, unless he paid this money, he would not have known what his alledged crime was, 'till he actually came to the place of trial and heard the charge read against him.

—It is the same with every other man, who is prosecuted in this way. He may be, as we have seen, brought to court after court, and not tried for years, and, perhaps, not tried at all; and, besides the harrassing of this, he has to meet and support all the expences. There may be just as many Informations laid against any man as the Attorney chooses to lay against him; he may be compelled to give bail upon every one of them, or he may be sent to jail; and, after all, he may, if the Attorney General chooses, never be brought to trial at all; and, he has, for all this, no mode whatever of obtaining compensation or redress. Hence, as Mr. DUNNING says, in his celebrated pamphlet, "the Attorney General may ruin any man, whose pen is troublesome to the ministry; for who has a purse sufficient to contend against the Crown?" And, Mr. DUNNING said this, too, before the Act empowering the Attorney General to

hold to bail was passed, or dreamt of.—Such are the powers of the Attorney General in England. Such are the powers, to which the press is subject in England. Such is the “practice of the English Constitution” as to the press, and to persons who write.—Any man, no matter who, may have an *Information Ex-officio* laid against him, and that too, for any thing that the Attorney General marks down as a crime. Any man may be thus put upon the list of criminals; and there he may be compelled to remain as long as the Attorney General pleases.—But, it is useless to say any thing more in the way of description of this power; this matchless power; this nonpareil of all powers. The thing is now pretty well known here. Heretofore it has not been known. People heard of the Attorney General’s prosecuting writers and printers; but, they had no notion of his possessing powers like these; nor did one person out of a thousand know what was the meaning of the words, SPECIAL JURY. Now, however, they do know what all this means; and, those who do not, will, before I have done with the subject; for, compared with these matters, what are the events of the war? Those events are but as dust in the balance, when compared with these powers of the Attorney General; and, what contemptible animals must we be, if we can suffer ourselves to be amused with what is passing in Spain and Portugal, while we have such concerns as this under our eyes, coming into our houses, and affecting us in all our vital interests.—Having given, or rather, repeated, my description of the powers possessed by the Attorney General, I shall, in my next, proceed to observe upon what he said in defence of his conduct as to the exercise of those powers. Here, however, I shall introduce a specimen from a writer of the last century, by way of answer to those, who cry out against the licentiousness of the press in the present day.—MR. STEPHEN (Wilberforce’s brother-in-law), who, having been a reporter to the news-papers, ought to know something about the press, said, that the press was now more licentious than ever. So said Mr. YORKE, in answer to MR. WARDLE’s charges against the late Commander in Chief. And, as SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY observed, so have said every ministry at all times since there has been a press.—But, the truth is, that the press, in England, never was so tame, so beaten down, so completely subdued as it is now. No man dares to pub-

lish any thing calculated to produce effect, touching great political matters; touching those things in which the people really are interested. About things, in which there is little interest, a man may write; and, if his hostility be merely of a party nature, he may go on pretty quietly; but, if he strike at the root of what he deems a public grievance; if he be sincere in his endeavour to eradicate it; if his hostility be to the thing, and if it be pretty manifest that he is not to be prevailed upon to desist; then let him beware!—The specimen of the Liberty of the Press, which I am now about to introduce, I have published in the Register, once before; but, it cannot be published too often, especially while there are men to cry out against the licentiousness of the press of the present day. Poor, tame, insipid, spiritless thing! What would SWIFT have said of it? Nothing can show the degeneracy of spirit in this country in so strong a light as the comparing of the language of the press of former times with its language at this day.

## SWIFT’S

CHARACTER, PANEGYRIC, AND DESCRIPTION  
OF THE LEGION-CLUB. 1736.

As I stroll the city, oft’ I  
See a building large and lofty,  
Not a bow-shot from the College;  
Half the globe from sense and knowledge:  
By the prudent architect,  
Plac’d against the Church direct,  
Making good my grand-dame’s jest,  
“Near the church”—you know the rest.

Tell us what the pile contains?  
Many a head that holds no brains.  
These demoniacs let me dub  
With the name of Legion-Club.  
Such assemblies, you might swear  
Meet when butchers bait a bear;  
Such a noise, and such haranguing,  
When a brother thief is hanging;  
Such a rout and such a rabble  
Run to hear Jack-pudding gabble;  
Such a crowd their ordure throws  
On a far less villain’s nose.

Could I from the building’s top  
Hear the rattling thunder drop,  
While the devil upon the roof  
(If the devil be thunder proof)  
Should with poker fiery red  
Crack the stones, and melt the lead;  
Drive them down on every skull,  
While the DEN OF THIEVES is full;  
Quite destroy the harpies nest;  
How might then our isle be blest!  
For divines allow, that God  
Sometimes makes the devil his rod;  
And the gospel will inform us,  
He can punish sins enormous.

Yet should Swift endow the schools,  
For his lunatics and fools,  
With a rood or two of land;  
I allow the pile may stand,  
You perhaps will ask me, Why so?  
But it is with this proviso:  
Since the house is like to last,  
Let the royal grant be pass'd,  
That the club have right to dwell  
Each within his proper cell,  
With a passage left to creep in,  
And a hole above for peeping.

Let them when they once get in,  
*Sell the nation for a pin;*  
While they sit a picking straws,  
Let them rave at making laws;  
While they never hold their tongue,  
Let them dabble in their dung:

Let them, ere they crack a louse,  
Call for th' *Orders of the House;*  
Let them with their gosling quills,  
Scribble senseless heads of bills.  
We may, while they strain their throats,  
Wipe our a\*\*s with their Votes,

Come assist me, Muse obedient!  
Let us try some new expedient;  
Shift the scene for half an hour,  
Time and place are in thy power.  
Thither, gentle Muse, conduct me;  
I shall ask, and you instruct me.

See, the Muse unbars the gate!  
Hark, the Monkeys, how they prate!  
All ye gods who rule the soul!  
Styx, through Hell whose waters roll;  
Let me be allow'd to tell,  
What I heard in yonder Hell.

Near the door an entrance gapes,  
Crowded round with antic shapes,  
Poverty, and Grief, and Care,  
Causeless Joy, and true Despair;  
*Discord periwigg'd with snakes,*  
See the dreadful strides she takes!

By this *odious crew* beset,  
I began to rage and fret,  
And resolv'd to break their pates,  
Ere we entered at the gates:  
Had not Clio in the nick  
Whisper'd me, "Lay down your stick."  
"What," said I, "is this the mad-house?"  
"These" she answer'd "are but shadows,"  
"Phantoms bodiless and vain,  
"Empty visions of the brain."  
In the porch Briareus stands,  
Shows a *bride in all his hands;*

When the rogues their country fleece,  
*They may hope for pence a-piece.*

Clio, who had been so wise  
To put on a *fool's disguise,*  
To bespeak some approbation,  
And be thought a near relation,  
When she saw three hundred brutes  
All involv'd in wild disputes,  
Roaring till their lungs were spent,  
PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT,

Now a new misfortune feels,  
DREADING TO BE LAID BY TH' HEELS.  
Never durst a Muse before  
Enter that infernal door;  
Clio, stifled with the smell,  
Into spleen and vapours fell,  
By the Stygian steams that flew  
From the dire infectious crew.  
Not the stench of lake Avernus  
Could have more offended her nose;  
Had she flown but o'er the top  
She had felt her pinions drop,  
And by exhalations dire,  
Though a goddess, must expire.  
In a fright she crept away;  
Bravely I resolv'd to stay.

When I saw the keeper frown,  
Tipping him with half a crown,  
"Now," said I, "we are alone,  
Name your heroes one by one."

\* \* \* \* \*

How I want thee, humorous Hogarth!  
Thou, I hear, a pleasant rogue art.  
Were but you and I acquainted,  
Every monster should be painted:  
You should try your graving-tools  
On this *OBIOUS GROUPE OF FOOLS:*  
Draw the beasts as I describe them  
From their features, while I gibe them;  
Draw them like; for I assure you,  
You will need no *car'atura;*  
Draw them so, that we may trace  
All the soul in every face.

Keeper, I must now retire,  
You have done what I desire:  
But I feel my spirits spent  
With the noise, the sight, the scent.  
"Pray be patient; you shall find  
Half the best are still behind:  
You have hardly seen a score:  
I can shew two hundred more."  
Keeper, I have seen enough.—  
Taking then a pinch of snuff,  
I concluded, looking round them,  
"MAY THEIR GOD, THE DEVIL, CON-  
FOUND THEM!"

Now, the author of this satire was not punished. He was not crammed into a jail amongst felons. The hair of no man's head was ever touched for this. And why? Why, because it was proper to publish it; because the author had a right to publish it. Great good it was calculated to do, and I dare say, did do. There was no dread, in those days, of the government being destroyed by such freedom as this; but, I put it to the reader what he thinks would become of a man, if he were to publish such a thing now, in England. Let any man look at this Extract from Swift, and bear in mind what Mr. GALT

JONES was sent to Newgate for, last Spring, upon the motion of Mr. YORKE.—These are things, which the people should have well fixed in their minds. There is no duty towards the public so sacred as that of keeping these things alive. Little more is necessary; but, that is necessary; and, if there were a little work, in the way of *Almanack*, wherein to enregister all these memorable transactions, it would be of great national advantage. A little sort of manual that might be called, *The People's Pocket Companion*. I cannot help expressing a wish, that some one would undertake such a work.

JUBILEE DOLLAR.—This precious commodity not only holds its ground, but is, I find, rising over the paper, even more than before.—There has been a rumour, the news-papers tell us, about an intention to issue *small notes*; I mean, smaller than *one pounds*, to which, I think, the thing must come, in the course of a few months; for, as to putting up the Dollar, it will do no good at all, in the way of preserving them in circulation, and will only tend to make the people see the thing to the bottom the sooner.—But, says the wise COURIER, why make 10 and 5 shilling notes? It will answer the same purpose to make 25s. and 30s. and 35s. notes.—Indeed, wiseacre! And, how is the farmer to pay his labourer his 15 or 12 shillings on the Saturday night? How is one to pay less than a pound to any one who has not any money at all?—However, this wiseacre is just the sort of instructor for the full-blooded Anti-Jacobins, who wish not to see the thing in its true light, and who will, in all human probability, have their full reward in due time, manner, and form.—Then there is a Mr. RICARDO, who is puffing off a plan of his for raising the value of the paper to equal that of gold, with the aid of a very moderate proportion of that metal. This is just what HUME foretold. The patient is beset with remedies; and, after a few of them have been applied, we shall see what a way the poor sufferer will get into. One thing I will venture to say of this Mr. RICARDO, that, if ever he does see the New Jerusalem, he will see it before this paper be restored to sterling value.—The *Exchange*, indeed! Miserable humbug! What has trade or exchange to do with the matter? The state of the exchange may be an evidence of the worth of the paper money; but, it cannot cause it to be worth

more or less. On the Continent, the currency consists of gold and silver. A Dollar will pass there for no more than it used to do many years ago. Gold and Silver, as I showed by my statement of the currency in France, are not dear. They are as cheap there as they ever were. What wretches, then, must those be, who believe, that the gold and silver go away, because they are so dear upon the Continent! There is no country upon earth, except this, where people would be found to believe such a palpable falshood.—The raising of the Dollar seems to have opened a new description of eyes. The nation is brought to look at the thing by degrees. There are several classes of eyes; one class gets opened this time; another class next time, and so on. And, as the thing draws towards a close, the classes will grow much more numerous.—For some years, there was only here and there a person, who saw clearly what was coming; within these four years many men have opened their eyes; the smashings of last summer enlightened numbers, and set some of them seriously to think of the means of providing against the final consequences; and now the rise in the price of the Dollar seems to have added greatly to the faculty of seeing.—A correspondent, in the West of England, whose name I shall not insert, writes to me for my opinion and advice as to how he ought to go to work to secure to his children the fruit of his industry; and, as I am certain there are thousands in the same situation, I will give him my answer through this channel after having inserted his letter, which is as follows:—"SIR,—Having lately read your opinion published in the Register, respecting the depreciation of Paper Money, and the general tendency of things as to funded property, and being desirous to secure to my children the fruit of my industry;—I know you will be good enough to give me your opinion when I ask, What is to be done in the present circumstances of the times?—To exchange a small funded Income for Land as it now sells, is to reduce almost the whole of that Income, which would be very distressing, while such large demands are daily made upon one, from the increase in price of all the necessities of life, and the sums required by the Tax Gatherers, both Public and Parochial.—My thoughts have therefore been turned towards the American Bank Shares or the Louisiana Fund—but I he-

"sitate, having seen a statement in the "Paper to this effect, "when the attack "on the Chesapeake excited an apprehension of war, the Secretary of the "Treasury immediately forbid the transfer of any Bank Stock, either known, "or believed to be English property, "this and every other kind of property "would be taken possession of, at the "commencement of a war as an indemnification of our own losses." As you "are well acquainted with American affairs, do you recollect if this was the "fact? and what is your opinion as to "the above security?—What think you "of security on mortgage in this country? "or what can be done by an individual "under the present circumstances of the "times?—I am sorry to give you so "much trouble, but in the persuasion you "will excuse it, I beg leave to subscribe "myself, yours, &c.—30 March, 1811."

Now, as to *what a man ought to do*, in such general circumstances, is rather *too broad* a question, since so much must necessarily depend upon the particular circumstances of a man's family, the age of his children, the taste of himself, and, more especially the taste of his wife, who, if she be well stored with vanity, will leave all the children to beg or starve, rather than take a horse from her carriage or curtail her table of a dish.—I must, therefore, confine myself to one point or two marked out in this gentleman's letter.—And, first, as to the *American funds*, or *Bank Shares*, or *Louisiana fund*, I would by no means advise any man to hazard one sixpence in them. Not that I should apprehend any *design* on the part of the American Government to seize on the stock belonging to foreigners, though I do not know that they might not in certain cases; and, it will be remembered that something of this sort was done in England, during the Anti-Republican war. My objection is, that the American funds and ours turn nearly upon *the same pivot*; the American funding system is, odd as it may seem, merely a sucking child of the Old Lady in Threadneedle Street; it yet hangs upon her breast; and, if "*anything were to happen*," as the saying is (a saying we always use to avoid the sound of the word *death*); if any thing were to happen to the dear old Mama, it is strongly to be suspected, that her offspring, though a most promising babe at present, would follow her very closely to what PAINE calls the Potters' field of paper money.—But, suppose this not

to be the case. How is a man to get his *interest* from America? He receives it *now* in London, and so he must then. Well, and *what* does he receive it *in*? Why, in *bank notes*, to be sure; and, in Bank notes he will continue to receive it, as long as they are current. Of course, the depreciation of paper will affect his American Stock as well as his English Stock; and, as I am fully convinced, that the American funding system hangs upon ours, this system is just, in my opinion, as safe as that; and, if any difference, safer, because there the government *may possibly* sequester or confiscate, under some circumstances that may arise, and here no such thing will be done as to the funded property of the people of our own country.—*Nine tenths* of the American Stock is, I believe, owned by *foreigners*. This circumstance alone is ominous; for it will be easily conceived, that *the people of America* would not make any very bloody resistance against any measure that should *relieve them from the payment of the interest upon the Debt*. The DUTCH, indeed, we were told by our venal prints, execrated Napoleon, and were even snickersneeing themselves by scores, *because he would not let them pay any more interest upon their national Debt*. This seems very odd; but, be the taste of the Dutch what it might, I can assure the reader that this is not the taste of the Americans; who are fond of taxes of no sort; who do not like national Debts; who have never cordially liked the new funding system, as is very clear from the very small part of the Stock owned by themselves; and who would be a much less clever people and less resolute than I have always known them for, if they neglected any fair opportunity of getting rid of the growing curse, under which, if not effectually checked, their grand-children might groan in the vilest of all slavery, a slavery far surpassing, in misery as well as in odiousness, any to which the greatest of their enemies ever wished to reduce them.—They have seen the Swamp Snake sucking in the Frog, the flexible jaws of the former stealing slowly over the carcass of the latter, which, while it puts forth a piteous *pee! pee! pee!* sinks and sees itself sinking into the maw of its devourer. They will, therefore, I hope and trust, take warning from the example, and resolutely determine to suffer neither themselves nor their children to be thus swallowed up. But they must begin betimes. They must

not suffer the jaws to envelope any part of them; for, if they do, the poison infused through their veins by the touch deprives them of the power of resistance.—Such is my view of the American funding system, which will convince my correspondent that it is quite impossible for me to recommend any man to look to the American funds as a place of security.—The statement of this gentleman, that it would be very *distressing* to exchange a *small* funded income for land, as land *now* sells, which would *reduce almost the whole of that income*, while *large demands* are daily made upon him by *tax-gatherers*; this statement I do not, I must confess, clearly understand.—The tax-gatherer comes upon you in proportion to what you possess, or what income you have; and, if your income were less, your taxes must be less.

—But, why should it be *distressing* to exchange a *small* funded income for land any more than it would be so to exchange a *large* income? The *proportion* must still be the same; and, as to any injury arising from the *dearness* of land (which is only another phrase for the *cheapness of money*, or rather *Bank-notes*), I really cannot conceive whence the idea can have arisen. The land, like every thing else, sells for *what it is worth*, and, therefore, though it may demand a large sum in paper-money to buy a farm, it does not follow, that the farm is *dear*. If a piece of ground costs £.20 and will let for a *pound* a year, though there be not a rood of land, it is not dear. It yields you *five per centum for your money*. But, this is not the case. You cannot get more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per centum for land. But, observe, it *never will depreciate*; and, Funds and Funding System and the Stock Exchange and *Lame Ducks* and *Bulls and Bears* and *Checks and Notes* and *Bills* and all the *Babylonish list* of names and the things which they represent may vanish into air, and your land and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per centum will remain. That is not enough for you to keep a four-wheeled carriage and to have *Forté Pianos*. Take two wheels from the carriage, sell the *Pianos*, and let your daughters learn to sew.—Can't do that!—Very well, then; have a short life and a merry one; but, if your resources should fail you, do not think of going for assistance to those who have been contented with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per centum, with a two wheeled carriage and with no *Forté Pianos*.—But, does this correspondent of mine consider *how fast* the funded income is coming down to an equa-

lity with the income from land?—Does he consider that he now receives his dividend in paper of which 2 dollars are equal to *eleven* shillings worth. A month ago he got his dividends in paper of which 2 Dollars were equal to *ten* shillings worth. Suppose his dividends to amount to £.100. He, last time, got 400 Dollars for it; he will get next time only 360, or thereabouts.—Aye, says he; but I get it *in paper* always, and I got £.100 *note last time*, and shall get *one next time*.—Well, if this *satisfies* you: if you are happy with it, may you be so to the end!—But, as my correspondent seems to have scruples, and has, with great condescension, and, I am sure, with sincerity, applied to me for my advice, to him I must offer a few more remarks, which, I anxiously hope, may be of service to him.—He dislikes the idea of changing funded property into land, because such exchange would, he says, *reduce his income almost to nothing*.—I have said, that, at the common run, such exchange would reduce his income from 5 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per centum. This, observe, is leaving all *skill* out of the question.—Well now suppose his funded income to have been last year, £.100, that is to say, 400 Dollars. This year he will get only 360 Dollars or thereabouts, and this, at one slap, reduces his funded property to an interest of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per centum; not to mention the circumstance, that the *income tax*, another  $\frac{1}{2}$  per centum upon the interest, is *sure* to be taken off in the funds to the *rack rent*, if I may so call it, while it is impossible to do that as to land; or, while there is, at any rate, a chance of its not being done.—Well, now, what does his funded income yield him *more* than his landed income would? But is the rise in the price of the Dollar to *STOP* where it is? Who believes that? Upon the whole earth you cannot find a nation, or a millionth part of a nation, except this, who would believe such a thing for a minute. Godward we are of as many religions as any people under the Sun; but, Bankward we are of faith as uniform and as unshaken as even Mahomet could have wished.—It is possible that the Bank may not rise the Dollar again; but, if they do not, the Dollar will *rise itself*; for, it will certainly not associate with the Bank Paper. No matter what premium you give it; it is not to be bribed to live in such company.—Before I go any further, I will present the reader with a paper from ADDISON'S FREEMOLDER.

—Addison, just after George I. came from Hanover to reign over the English nation, wrote a series of Papers, under the name of a FREEHOLDER, the object of which papers was to reconcile the people to the new Family, and, in his view of the matter, at least, a very laudable object it was.—At this time (1716) the reader will bear in mind, that the PRETENDER was living in France, and that he had just failed in an attempt to recover the throne of this country.—Addison, therefore, profess- edly chose such subjects as he thought likely to excite in the people strong pre- judices against the Pretender, that appear- ing to him the likeliest way to succeed in reconciling them to the sway of King George.—The PRETENDER was, as the reader will remember, residing in France; and, Addison (who soon got a place for his writings, and whose pen was probably sharpened by a promise) laboured hard, in his periodical work, the FREEHOLDER, to convince the English of the danger of getting a king from such *bad company* as the king and court of France were. It would not do for him to talk against the danger of having a *foreigner* for a king; for there was one upon the throne; but, it suited his purpose marvellously well to expose the tyrannical arts of the *king of France*, and then to say, ever and anon, “Lo! here is what the Pretender is learn- ing! Here is what the Pretender would do, if you had him for a king.”—Manifold were the evils which he thus pre- dicted the PRETENDER, if he unhappily should obtain the power, would bring upon the good people of England; and, amongst others, was that of RAISING THE VALUE OF THE CURRENT COIN BY AN EDICT! How he speaks of this, let the reader now see for himself; and, if the Bank People ever find leisure to read any thing but their notes, I would re- commend them to read this; and, to bear well in mind, that it proceeded not from the pen of a *Jacobin* or *Leveller*, but from the pen of a man, writing in de- fence of the House of Brunswick.—“Every Englishman will be a good sub- ject to King George, in proportion as he is a good Englishman and a lover of the constitution of his Country. In order to awaken in my readers the love of this their constitution, it may be necessary to set forth its superior excellency to that form of government, which many wicked and ignorant men have of late years endeavoured to introduce among

us. I shall not therefore think it im- proper to take notice from time to time of any particular act of power, exerted by those among whom the Pretender to his Majesty’s Crown has been educated; which would prove fatal to this Nation, should it be conquered and governed by a person, who, in all probability, would put in practice the politics in which he has been so long instructed.—There has been nothing more observable in the Reign of his present Gallick Majesty, than the method he has taken for sup- plying his Exchequer with a necessary sum of money. The ways and means for raising it has been an edict, or a com- mand in writing signed by himself, to increase the value of Louis d’ors from fourteen to sixteen Livres, by virtue of a new stamp which shall be struck upon them. As this method will bring all the gold of the kingdom into his hands, it is provided by the same edict that they shall be payed out again to the people at twenty Livres each; so that four Livres in the score by this means accrue to his Majesty out of all the money in the Kingdom of France.—This method of raising money is consistent with that form of government, and with the re- peated practice of their late Grand Monarque; so that I shall not here con- sider the many evil consequences which it must have upon their trade, their Ex- change, and public credit: I shall only take notice of the whimsical circum- stances a people must lie under, who can be thus made poor or rich by an edict, which can throw an Alloy into a Louis d’or, and debase it into half its former value, or, if his Majesty pleases, raise the price of it, not by the accession of Metal, but of a mark. By the pre- sent edict many a man in France will swell into a plumb, who fell several thousand pounds short of it the day be- fore its publication. This conveys a kind of fairy treasure into their chests, even whilst they are under lock and key; and is a secret of multiplication without addi- tion. It is natural enough, however, for the vanity of the French nation to grow insolent upon this imaginary wealth, not considering that their neighbours think them no more rich by virtue of an edict to make fourteen twenty than they would think them more formidable should there be another edict to make every man in the kingdom seven foot high.—It was usual for his late most

" Christian Majesty to sink the value of  
 " their Louis d'ors about the time he was  
 " to receive the taxes of his good people,  
 " and to raise them as soon as he had got  
 " them safe in his Coffers. And there is  
 " no question but the present Government  
 " in that kingdom, will so far observe this  
 " kind of conduct, as to reduce the twenty  
 " Livres to their old number of fourteen,  
 " when they have paid them out of their  
 " hands; which will immediately sink the  
 " present timpany of wealth and re-establish  
 " the natural poverty of the Gallic Nation.  
 " —One cannot but pity the melancholy  
 " condition of a Miser in this Country, who  
 " is perpetually telling his Livres, without  
 " being able to know how rich he is. He  
 " is as ridiculously puzzled and perplexed  
 " as a man that counts the stones on Salis-  
 " bury plain, which can never be settled  
 " to any certain number, but are more or  
 " fewer every time he reckons them:—  
 " I have heard of a young French lady, a  
 " subject of Louis the fourteenth, who was  
 " contracted to a Marquis upon the foot of  
 " a five thousand pound fortune, which  
 " she had by her in specie; but one of  
 " these unlucky edicts coming out a week  
 " before the intended marriage, she lost  
 " a thousand pounds, and her bridegroom  
 " into the bargain.—The uncertainty of  
 " riches is a subject much discoursed of in  
 " all Countries, but may be insisted on  
 " more emphatically in France than any  
 " other. A man is here under such a  
 " kind of situation, as one who is managed  
 " by a juggler. He fancies he has so many  
 " pieces of money in his hand; but let  
 " him grasp them never so carefully, upon  
 " a word or two of the artist they encrease  
 " or dwindle to what number the Doctor  
 " is pleased to name. This method of  
 " lowering or advancing money, we, who  
 " have the happiness of being in another  
 " form of government, should look upon  
 " as an unwarrantable kind of clipping  
 " and coining. However, as it is an ex-  
 " pedient that is often practised, and may  
 " be justified in that constitution which  
 " has been so thoroughly studied by the  
 " Pretender to his Majesty's Crown, I do  
 " not see what should have hindered him  
 " from making use of so expeditious a  
 " method for raising a supply, if he had  
 " succeeded in his late attempt to dethrone  
 " his Majesty, and subvert our constitu-  
 " tion. I shall leave it to the considera-  
 " tion of the reader, if in such a case the  
 " following edict, or something very like  
 " it, might not have been expected:

" " Whereas these our Kingdoms have  
 " " long groaned under an expensive  
 " " and consuming Land-war, which has  
 " " very much exhausted the Treasure  
 " " of the Nation, we being willing to in-  
 " " crease the wealth of our people,  
 " " and not thinking it advisable for  
 " " this purpose to make use of the  
 " " tedious methods of merchandise and  
 " " commerce, which have been always  
 " " promoted by a faction among the  
 " " worst of our subjects, and were so  
 " " wisely discountenanced by the best of  
 " " them in the last reign, do hereby en-  
 " " act by our sole will and pleasure, That  
 " " every shilling in Great Britain, shall  
 " " pass in all payments for the sum of  
 " " fourteen pence, till the first of Septem-  
 " " ber next, and that every other piece  
 " " of money shall rise and pass in cur-  
 " " rent payment in the same proportion.  
 " " The advantage which will accrue to  
 " " these nations by this our Royal Dona-  
 " " tive, will visibly appear to all men of  
 " " sound principles, who are so justly fa-  
 " " mous for their antipathy to strangers,  
 " " and would not see the landed interest  
 " " of their country weakened by the im-  
 " " portations of foreign gold and silver.  
 " " But since by reason of the great debts  
 " " which we have contracted abroad,  
 " " during our fifteen years reign, as well  
 " " as of our present exigencies, it will  
 " " be necessary to fill our Exchequer by  
 " " the most prudent and expeditious me-  
 " " thods, we do also hereby order every  
 " " one of our subjects to bring in these  
 " " his fourteen-penny pieces, and all the  
 " " other current cash of this Kingdom,  
 " " by what new titles soever dignified or  
 " " distinguished, to the Master of our  
 " " Mint, who, after having set a mark upon  
 " " them, shall deliver out to them, on or  
 " " after the first of September aforesaid,  
 " " their respective sums, taking only  
 " " four-pence for ourself for such his  
 " " mark on every fourteen-penny piece,  
 " " which from henceforth shall pass in  
 " " payment for eighteen-penny pieces,  
 " " and so in proportion for the rest. By  
 " " this method the money of this nation  
 " " will be more by one-third than it is  
 " " at present; and we shall content our-  
 " " self with not quite one-fifth part of  
 " " the current cash of our loving subjects;  
 " " which will but barely suffice to clear  
 " " the interest of those sums in which  
 " " we stand indebted to our most dear  
 " " brother and ancient ally. We are  
 " " glad of this opportunity of shew-

“ing such an instance of our goodness  
 “to our subjects, by this our Royal  
 “Edict, which shall be read in every  
 “Parish Church of Great Britain, im-  
 “mediately after the celebration of  
 “High Mass. For such is our plea-  
 “sure.”—This is the 18th Number  
 of the Freeholder, and was published on  
 the 20th of February, 1716.—There are  
 no remarks called for. It applies itself so  
 well all the way through, that one cannot  
 help exclaiming, with the wise man, that  
 “there is *nothing new under the Sun!*”  
 But, if any man had foretold to ADDISON  
 that which we *now see*; if any man had  
 come to him, just as he had finished his  
 essay, and told him, that a time would  
 come, when there should be a *foreigner*  
 (for so we call him) upon the throne of  
 France; when there should be in England  
 a person lineal heir to that throne and  
 whom the French should call a *Pretender*;  
 and, that, in this state of things as to the  
 two thrones, the current money in Eng-  
 land should be *raised in value by Adver-*  
*tisement*, while in France the coin would  
 be passing at its sterling value: if any  
 man had foretold this to Addison, what  
 would the latter have said? And, what  
 should we now say, if we were to hear the  
 MONITEUR holding up LOUIS XVIII as a  
 man to be dreaded; on account of the les-  
 sons of raising the value of money which  
 he is learning in England.—All this,  
 however, I am ready to confess, is more  
*curious* than practically instructive; and  
 I shall now hasten to answer the re-  
 maining part of my correspondent’s letter.  
 —He asks me, what I think of a *mort-*  
*gage* in England. I think it the best and  
 safest of things for those who cannot place  
 their *own feet* upon their *own land*. For,  
 though the interest will, for a while, at  
 least, be paid in paper, still the *principal is*  
*safe*.—Let what will happen to the  
 paper system, there is the land answerable  
 for the mortgage. Besides, it does not fol-  
 low, that the interest or principal of money  
 at mortgage should be suffered to depre-  
 ciate very far. It would cause but little  
 trouble to make it keep pace with the  
 produce of the land.—I have now given  
 my correspondent the best answer that  
 suggests itself to my mind; and I thought  
 it better to do it in this way than in a pri-  
 vate letter. If he follow my advice, I am  
 convinced he will have to congratulate  
 himself on it; and, if he does not, the  
 fault will not be mine.—I know, that  
 there are many people, who think and say,

that I do not believe a word of my own  
 forebodings, and that I only wish to injure  
 the *credit* of the country, out of spite to  
 the ministers.—Well, let them think  
 this, and say this; and, all the harm I wish  
 them is, that they may continue to disbe-  
 lieve me to the last; that they may curse  
 me and bless Pitt as long as there is a frag-  
 ment of the system remaining.—But,  
 while this is the fate I wish to be in reserve  
 for the Anti-Jacobins, I wish others to  
 consider well what is to become of them-  
 selves and their children. I would have  
 those, who are yearly sinking money in  
 Life Insurance Offices consider what they  
 are about. I would have them look round  
 the world, and when they have done so,  
 ask themselves, whether there be, in any  
 country, an instance of *depreciated paper*  
*having been restored to its former value*; and,  
 if they find no such instance in the world,  
 I beg them to hesitate before they believe,  
 that a miracle is to be wrought in favour  
 of the Bank of England.

BATTLE OF BARROSA.—The war in  
 Spain and Portugal has long been, with  
 me, an object of, comparatively, little in-  
 terest. It seems to me to tend to no point,  
 and to have in it no chance of yielding us  
 any ultimate good. I have always been  
 of opinion, that it was the interest of Na-  
 poleon to lengthen the *land war* with us,  
 and that, the more extensive he could  
 make it, the better for him; because, if  
 we were brought home to ourselves, we  
 should, at any rate, if under a wise minis-  
 try, be able to *economize*; whereas a war  
 like that in Spain and Portugal is a drain  
 almost incalculable; and, not only a drain  
 of taxes, but of money, real money, which  
 is *never to return*.—For these and many  
 other reasons, the events of the war are,  
 in my eyes, little interesting to the Eng-  
 lish people; nevertheless, I am always  
 ready to join in bestowing just praise  
 upon those who perform acts of bra-  
 very in that war.—The battle, in  
 which General Graham has been engaged,  
 appears to have been gallantly fought on  
 both sides, and, I think, there can be little  
 doubt of our men having shewn a decided  
 superiority over the French, as I believe,  
 they always have, when they have been  
 well commanded, and especially when the  
 contest has come to the bayonet; that is to  
 say, when personal strength and personal  
 courage have been fairly put to the test.  
 —To pretend that the French soldiers  
 are *not brave* is foolish in the extreme, now

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that we have seen them conquer all the continent of Europe; it is quite sufficient for me, that we are able to face them with equal numbers, being inferior to them in point of *experience*.—As to the battle of Barrosa, I do not see any proof of any merit but that of *bravery*, which was not a thing which wanted to be established. —I am of the opinion of the author of a letter, which will be found in another part of this Number, upon the subject of this battle, and to which letter I beg my reader's attention. I disagree with the author as to the war in *general*, and the *policy of it*; but, as far as relates to this battle, I perfectly agree with him; and, had I been a member of the House of Commons, the vote of Thanks should not have been unanimous; for, I would have voted against it, if I had been alone. —First, the thing was of *too little importance*. It was not a *battle*; it was a mere *rencontre*. The force employed was of trifling amount. The *object* was merely that of raising a siege; and that object was *not accomplished*. Therefore, however great the *bravery*, the action should not have had my thanks as a member of Parliament.—Then, what my correspondent says has great weight, and would have great weight with me in the question of thanks, even if the battle had been a thing of sufficient importance.—And, if I would have opposed a vote of *thanks*, certainly I never should have thought of voting the Commander a SWORD, as, it appears, they have done in the *Common Council of the City of London*.—Those who propose this vote must see the matter with eyes very different from mine. A SWORD was voted by the Common Council to Lord Nelson; but, is there *no difference*? If this is the way we are to continue, what shall we come to at last? What will, at last, be looked upon as calling for a sword from the City of London? And, what surprises me most is, that this motion does not seem to have met with the *slightest opposition* in the Common Council! All seem to have been of a mind, that it was proper to vote the same mark of honour to General Graham as to Lord Nelson.—This sword might have been voted by the *Turtle Patriots*. Then it would have been in character.—There has been, I think, a little too much haste in condemning La PENA and his troops; but, at any rate, the eulogists of the war are in a dilemma here. For, if the Spaniards did behave well, they have not had justice done them

by the person whom they have thanked; and, if they did not behave well, what does the fact shew but that they do not act cordially *with us*?—It is notorious, that the Spaniards have, upon several occasions, when *alone*, fought well; it is perfectly well known that they have most gallantly defended their towns. Nay, look back through our news-papers, and you will find them filled with relations of the *heroic deeds* of the Spaniards. Now, if these relations are *true*, how are we to account for the want of courage, or of zeal, in the Spaniards whenever they are acting *with our troops*?—I should like to hear this satisfactorily accounted for. At present I must believe, that there is a something or other, which abates the valour and enthusiasm of the Spaniards when operating with our troops. I must believe this, because I always hear them found fault of upon such occasions; but, how it can be accounted for, unless upon the ground of *dislike to us*, I am at a loss to discover.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday,  
April, 5, 1811.

## SPANISH WAR.

## BATTLE OF BARROSA.

Sir;—My opinion differs from yours on many points: on many I have the honour of agreeing with you: but at all events, I consider your publication as an asylum, in which truth frequently takes refuge, when persecuted every where else. You must have witnessed with every one the prevalent sentiments of this country respecting the brilliant victory of General Graham: and it is upon the character of these sentiments, that I wish to address a very few lines to you. Exultation at any signal instance of bravery in our countrymen is not only admissible but laudable. But when I allow this I can go no farther, and must put in my absolute protest against all those illiberal reflections, comparisons, suspicions, insinuations, &c. &c. respecting our allies, which for the most part in these instances disgrace, and take away the merit of any patriotic professions that accompany them. Mr. Graham is a man of high character; and considering the action in itself, there never was one, which did greater honour to the British army. This is an admission, which justice demands, or more properly speaking, it is an

assertion, which I make with as much heartfelt warmth of patriotic feeling, as any of those who think this a proper occasion for throwing out illiberal reflections upon the brave Spaniards. If no other man in the kingdom should be of the same opinion, I should still say, Sir, that the judgment and propriety of the measure adopted by General Graham on this occasion, is to me not at all apparent. Let us consider it with all possible candour. He admits by his own statement that he disobeyed orders. This is a circumstance that in a military view at once places him in a very arduous moral situation. Nothing less than reasons the most cogent that can possibly be imagined can justify him. But what does he himself say? He tells us slightly, and *en passant*, that he considered the heights of Barrosa as the key to the Santi Petri. If you or any military man will inform me in what manner the heights of Barrosa form such a key, he will relieve me from as puzzled an embarrassment as I think I ever experienced. Having pored over my map and turned the matter every way in my mind, I find myself too dull to comprehend how they can be considered as such. Instead of the heights of Barrosa, had he mentioned the *Torre de Bermesa*, which it was his orders to take possession of, I should have much better understood him. That would have been of considerable consequence towards securing and covering the passage of the bridge. The Spanish forces were all this time actually in possession of the Santi Petri, and consequently of the communication with the Isla; in consequence of a most gallant action in which they had defeated the enemy. It is perfectly plain that the Spanish general was intent on concentrating as much as possible the allied forces. It was in pursuance of this truly military principle that he had ordered general Graham to take possession of the *Torre de Bermesa*. It is equally evident, and General Graham had intelligence of it, that the French were in full march to engage the allied forces. Had General Graham obeyed orders he could only have been attacked by them where he could have been supported by the Spaniards. The defeat of the enemy would in that case have been both more easy and more destructive, and a pursuit could have taken place; which by General Graham's conduct was rendered impossible. These I think, Sir, are the plain suggestions of common sense to any man who

reads his letter with a good map. I do not suspect a gentleman of Mr. Graham's high and acknowledged merit (of which I did not want this gallant achievement to give me an exalted idea) of any thing so mean as to wish to snatch from the Spanish general the glory of the success; a motive which would have been as criminal as it would have been mean; because it is evident that the situation from which he was extricated by his own and his detachment's bravery greatly endangered the whole of the allied force; I would rather say (as I believe) that the blood of a noble highlander, raised to an irresistible tide at the vicinity of a military enemy, overbore, and made him for a moment forget, some considerations of prudence. I may possibly be wrong. Any professional gentleman who confutes my observations shall have my thanks. I have been induced to trouble you with these few ideas, hasty ones I confess, from the indignation which every man of the least pretension to honourable principles, must feel at the base scurrilities which are daily poured out against our brave allies, added to those disgusting claims of superiority, of which it is for the world, not ourselves, to judge, and which are, thanks to our newspapers, incurring for us daily, more and more, the reputation, in the eyes of all Europe, of a boasting, bragging nation. I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

P. S. The eagle should not have been disposed of by any subordinate or auxiliary force.

March 31st 1811.—W. Cobbett, Esq.

#### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

MR. WYNN'S MOTION AND DEBATE THEREON, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 25TH MARCH, 1811.

MR. WYNN rose, to move the second reading of the Election Bribery Bill. He understood the Bill against the sale of seats which lately passed the House, to be a pledge, that the House was hostile to the principle; leaving the minor regulations for carrying the object completely into effect for future consideration. Some, indeed, at that time contended, that there was no cause for any interference at all; but the majority of the House had thought otherwise. It was notorious, however, that seats had been since sold; and the only effect of the Bill had been, to compel the principals to meet, in order to settle the

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He wished to say a few words on the particular provisions of the Bill, though he was aware that this was not the stage to argue. The object of one part of the Bill was to compel the witnesses before Committees to give evidence though tending to criminate themselves; they, however, being indemnified from any prosecution in Courts of Law for such discoveries. Whether the compulsory clause should be adopted or not, he hoped the indemnity would be granted. As the law stood at present, a man might get himself indemnified by accusing another; and it was known that Members of that House gave evidence against their voters, and confessed on their cross-examination that they did it with a view to protect themselves from actions. The indemnity which he proposed would, he thought, be more effectual and less objectionable. There were also clauses to put an end to the practice of preserving voters from the consequences of detection in taking bribes, by making them sign Petitions to the House on the subject of the election; and for the surer discovery of sales of boroughs with small corporations. He hoped it was not intended that the practice at which our ancestors would have started back with horror was to be tolerated, or that the Act for putting an end to it was to be considered as a *brutum fulmen*, professing much and doing nothing. He approved of the decision of the House in refusing to proceed against any one for the past, after the practice had been so long connived at, and thought the clamours on that account utterly unfounded. But he approved of it only upon this ground, that the House should resolve to prevent it for the future. Those who opposed the clamours against Parliament, said that the House was ready to put an end to these practices. But if this should be contradicted, the number of the discontented would be alarmingly increased.

MR. BRAND said that nothing but a plan founded on a comprehensive view of the subject would do good. He had no hopes from such partial measures as this. The effect of such partial measures would be nothing else than to throw the monopoly of the purchase of seats into the hands of the Treasury. He was convinced his hon. friend would some time feel the difficulty of doing any good by applying partial remedies to a general evil. To the Constitution alone they must look in devising

a general remedy commensurate with the evil. Into this however he would not enter at present, as after the Easter recess he intended to propose a general measure. The present measure would only be dangerous and mischievous. His Honourable Friend himself might be accused of bribery, and the witness being the only evidence, could not be convicted of perjury. The prevention of the practice of concealing bribery in the voter, by causing him to petition, was good as far as it went; but it was a very partial benefit. This much he had said on this Bill, because he was anxious that his constituents should be aware that the subject had not escaped his attention. But no great good was reasonably to be expected, except from a real, true, and moderate reform; and for this he was anxious. He wished his Honourable Friend not to press this to a division, as he must be aware that the Bill had a bearing which perhaps he himself had not observed when he brought it in.

MR. G. JOHNSTONE opposed the Bill, upon the ground that no general or special reasons had been stated to shew the propriety of any legislative measure on the subject. No evidence was produced to prove that Seats had been sold since the late Act. For many years past the practice had been gradually decreasing; and there was more purity now in Election Cases, than in the boasted times of our ancestors. He could tell of some of their practices calculated to make their posterity blush for them, whether the conduct of their posterity would have made them start back with horror or not. In the case of Ashburton, in 1707, a motion was made in the House that the right of Election was in the holders of land and tenements of the said borough only. An Amendment was moved that the word "only" be left out. A ballot was called for—the clerks, with two of the Members, went round with a box, into which the rest of the Members put their balls. There had been a gradual improvement since. In 1807 no bribery had been proved before any of the Committees, and treating was almost at an end.—He said that no cases could be produced to shew the necessity of the repeal of the Bribery Act, and, before the House could proceed to repeal it, it was necessary to state such necessity.—With regard to the clause respecting evidence, and which did not allow a witness to protect himself upon self-crimina-

tion, he was astonished that the Honourable Gentleman, who was bred up to the law of the land, could ever think of introducing such a clause. Had it been proposed by those speculative persons, who, in a comparison between the Laws of England and the Code Napoleon, are of opinion that, in matters of evidence, it is impossible to say which abounds with the greatest evils, he should not have been so much astonished. Why was this fundamental alteration to be introduced into the law? He would ask how it happened that the law in this country was held in greater veneration than the law in any other country? And why was every body in this country anxious to bring criminals to justice? It was because the law never placed criminals or witnesses in a situation to criminate themselves, or directed the sympathies of mankind against the court. This Bill no doubt exempts the witnesses from punishment; but it cannot exempt them from any disgrace. But why is this alteration in the law confined to minor offences? Why is it not to extend to greater offences? Why not to treason itself? Surely the sacred life of the Sovereign and the order of society are objects of equal importance.—With respect to petitioning, the expence was such, that it could not be expected any man from a sense of justice merely, would bring a petition into that House; and it could only be some speculative reformer anxious to cast an odium on the higher classes, by holding them out as borough-mongers, who would think of laying out 1000*l.* on such an object.—On the whole, he thought the present law sufficient, without the present Bill; and if they had any suspicion of the insufficiency of the Bribery Acts, they ought to wait till a general election, when they could have a trial.

Mr. CURWEN thought that there were sufficient grounds for allowing the present Bill to go into a Committee. The declaration of the Bribery Bill established the existence of that, which its enactments were found insufficient to remedy. He gave that Bill his support, differing from every one of his friends in his opinion of it, notwithstanding it was so mutilated and changed in its passage through the House, by persons whom he never should have expected to see in the light of reformers, that he was convinced of its inefficacy, from an idea that some of the objections against it ought to have been pointed out by some of his friends.—The Honourable

Gentleman who first opposed the Bill, said that he could not see the necessity of it, at from our advancement in purity, there was now a great diminution of cases of bribery. When he heard this declaration he could not but call to mind the speech which they had heard delivered with so much eloquence from the Chair, which deservedly endeared him to the nation, and would endear him to posterity. It was notorious that the House of Commons was not possessed of that power and that influence which a House of Commons ought to have, but was stained with spots, which those who were best attached to it, could wish washed away. He confessed he was anxious for a considerable reform in the House. Look to the present moment and the present situation of the country, and then say if the greatest victory which could be obtained would not be a restoration of the purity of that House. It was well known that the Bribery Act was turned from the purposes for which it was intended. The Honourable Gentleman asked for cases. There are cases with which the Honourable Gentleman cannot be acquainted; but if a single case could be adduced, was it not necessary to prevent the possibility of a recurrence? It became necessary, therefore, to send the Bill to a Committee, where the subject could undergo a complete discussion.—The Honourable Gentleman asked if they would permit a man to come before the House who had no interest in the question? Gracious God! was there a man in the country who was not interested in every thing that concerned the purity of the House! He asked why the mode of evidence on the Bill was not extended to treason? The principle of the law of treason was deservedly the subject of admiration. It considered that he who is the presumed enemy of every man, should therefore be entitled to peculiar protection. But here the object was not punishment, but the preservation of the purity of the House, by preventing a man from sitting in it, who shall have committed an act of bribery, an object of much greater importance than the conviction of the offender, and perfectly distinct from it.—Those who were afraid of the advocates of Reform out of doors would do well to consider, that the most effectual way to prevent converts to that doctrine elsewhere, was to do every thing themselves that was temperate and that was just; and if they were to put an extinguisher upon Reform by strangling

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the present Bill, they would take the most effectual means of giving currency to the doctrines they dreaded. Let the Bill go through every stage, and let it be discussed with all the patience and all the attention of which the House is capable, and if they should so incline, let it at last be rejected. If it should now be strangled, and not allowed to go into a Committee, what would be thought in the Country? Not surely what the Honourable Gentleman professed, that there was no corruption to reform, but that there was too much corruption to allow Reform. The only way to obviate the dangerous tendency of the opinions which they dreaded, was to go themselves into every moderate plan of Reform which was practicable. It was impossible to take a more unwise step at present, when all the attachment and all the exertions of the country were required, than to strangle the present Bill. Every man could wish the declaration which was made in that House blotted out from his remembrance; and as he wished to prevent the possibility of the recurrence of the evil, he earnestly requested the concurrence of the House, in allowing the present Bill to go into a Committee.

SIR JOHN ANSTRUTHER said that he should oppose every alteration of the present Constitution of that House, and had he merely heard the speech of the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, he should have concluded that such was the object of the present Bill. Notwithstanding all the lofty language which they had heard from that Honourable Gentleman, almost threatening them with the distrust and condemnation of the people if they did not accede to his measure, he would tell that Honourable Gentleman, that a Bill ought to be canvassed in that House on its just principles, and when these principles did not meet with their approbation, they did their duty in rejecting it, and in endeavouring to please the people in opposition to their own sentiments, they would not do their duty, but commit an act of injury and injustice.—He then proceeded to discuss the clause relating to evidence, which went to violate a principle acknowledged in the laws of this and every other country. It was said that the witness was indemnified from punishment. But was it possible to indemnify him from the effect of moral guilt, from the loss of character sustained by the compulsive discovery. Another strong objection to this

part of the Bill was, that it increased the temptation to perjury for the purpose of conviction or acquittal. An informer came into Court with all the blackness peculiar to an informer, and his credibility was affected by it. But here he is relieved from all that odium. (*Hear, from Ministerial benches.*) Why not introduce this principle to other crimes? He had, therefore, great objections to the introduction of a principle of which he could not see the termination.—To the other clauses he had also great objections. From giving a general right to petition, little good could ensue, and a door could be opened to a great deal of mischief. He should therefore oppose the Bill going into a Committee.

SIR JOHN NEWPORT thought it very natural in those who opposed every plan of reform which could have any practical effect, on some pretext or other should also oppose the present Bill. All the reasons, however, which he had heard against committing the Bill, were in his mind, so many reasons in favour of that measure. If the Bill was liable to the objections which had been specified, the way to purge it from their objections was, to go into a Committee. What would be the consequence of a refusal? It would convince the people of England, that the former measures of the House were merely resorted to for the sake of tranquillizing the public mind for a moment, and not from any serious desire of reformation.—The Honourable Gentleman opposite (Mr. George Johnstone), asked for a case—Why the very evil was the secret nature of the act, from which, by the existing law it would be impossible ever to make a discovery of it.—If the offence could be discovered, the present law was sufficient to convict the offender, and there would then be no necessity of coming to the House for an alteration.—He concluded with declaring, that he should vote for the Committee.

MR. MORRIS thought it impossible to look at the subject, without seeing that there was great room for improvement in the Election Law. It was not sufficient for the House, however, to be convinced that there was this and the other thing to censure. They were to look at the question narrowly, and to see that in their desire for improvement they did not introduce an abuse rather than a remedy. He particularly objected to the clause, by which a person was compelled to make a disclosure of an offence in which he him-

self was implicated. This was to oblige a Jury to give credit to a person so circumstanced, whether he might be swearing true or false ; and, at the same time to leave the party against whom he complained completely at his mercy. He had only to name a time and place when no person else could be present, and in this way, must be certain of acquitting or convicting as he pleased, and at the same time of himself escaping detection. The remedying the abuses in Elections, was a consummation devoutly to be wished ; but, not at the expence of such a Bill as this ;

“ The tempering world is subject to this curse,  
“ To physic a disease by one that’s worse :”

but this he could not agree to apply as a remedy in the present instance.

Mr. C. W. WYNN shortly replied, when the House divided,

Ayes, 17 ; Noes, 64 ; Majority against the Bill, 47.

### OFFICIAL PAPER.

#### HAMBURGH DEPUTATION TO NAPOLEON.

Paris, March 20.—On Sunday his Majesty the Emperor and King gave audience, before mass, to the Deputation from the cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Bremen.—Mr. Doorman, as President of the Deputation, presented an Address, of which the following was the principal passage :

“ Sire, at all times we have been Frenchmen in our hearts, and from preference. If the anarchy which preceded your Majesty’s reign, relaxed, for a moment, ties of such long standing and so agreeable, we hastened to draw them closer the instant your accession to power re-assured the world social order : and your new subjects, Sire, cannot swear to be more faithful to you than they have shewn themselves to be for these ten years past ; more devoted to your pleasure, more obedient to your system, nor more disposed to contribute to the accomplishment of your designs, by every effort and sacrifice in their power ; and it is a pleasing consolation to the honourable remembrances of our country, to reflect, that our independence could yield only to him to whom every thing has yielded, and that our political existence was to cease only at that epoch when the destinies had determined that the Tiber and the Elbe should flow under the same laws.  
(To be continued.)

### PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

STATEMENT of the several Accounts in which MR. SAMUEL BROOKS has been Treasurer, since the 1st of May, 1807.

	£.	s.	d.
May 1807. To Subscriptions on account of the Westminster Election, 1807.....	1721	15	10
By Expences, in the Election, Chairing, Anniversaries, &c. to 1810 inclusive.....	1810	0	6
March, 1809. To Subscriptions for Westminster Meeting on the conduct of the Duke of York .....	56	11	0
By Expences .....	57	12	0
May. To Subscriptions for General Meeting, at the Crown and Anchor, on Reform .....	403	3	6
By Expences .....	391	3	2
Feb. 1810. To Subscriptions for Westminster Meeting on Reform ...	187	13	0
By Expences .....	123	19	8
April. To Subscriptions for Westminster Meeting on Commitment of Sir F. Burdett .....	99	5	0
By Expences .....	169	17	10
To Expences on Middlesex Meeting on Commitment of Sir F. Burdett .....	46	4	6
June. To Subscriptions on account of the Liberation of Sir F. Burdett...	47	12	6
By Expences .....	93	17	0
Total Expences... £.	2,682	14	8
Total Subscriptions .....	2,496	0	10
Balance due to the Treasurer...£.	186	13	10

The Subscribers are respectfully informed, that Books, containing the particulars of the above Accounts, and the Vouchers, are at Mr. Brooks, No. 110, Strand, for their inspection ; where Subscriptions continued to be received.

#### CIRCULAR TO THE SUBSCRIBERS.

Sir ;—We have thought it our duty to send you the above Accounts.—The City of Westminster, by returning a Representative to Parliament without personal expence, has demonstrated the power of the People when acting for themselves. The example of the first City of the Empire, if followed, will assuredly drive out the Borough Faction, and accomplish a substantial Reform.—The various Meetings held for the attainment of this desirable object have done much towards convincing the People of the necessity of obtaining it, as the only means of preserving their liberties. This has been effected with a small sum voluntarily subscribed by the Friends of Reform, with the exception of a trifling balance due to the Treasurer.—We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient Servants, WILLIAM ADAMS.

March 30th, 1811. FRANCIS PLACE.